

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether
857 it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

864/141 cont. / Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude; but in so doing [304] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong [852] on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri).

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls [858] are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even [867] before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the [458] [867]



304
852 ●
516
301

During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)



302
852
291
301

On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

End plate 9]

Bali OF7

Gorontalo 064
Borneo OC1
Makassar 066
Toradja 0611
Savu OF15

G [460 cont.]

304-846 Minahasa — a little piece of wood with cloth wound around it is fastened tightly against the forehead with bands. Every morning when the child is bathed, the piece of wood is taken off, but after the bath it is fastened on tightly again. This is done for 50 or 60 days.

I
[304-846] This custom, also practiced formerly in Europe as is shown by prehistoric skulls, must have existed everywhere in the archipelago according to Dr. A. B. Meyer in his study, Ueber künstlich deformirte Schädel von Borneo und Mindanao [Concerning artificially deformed skulls from Borneo and Mindanao], 1881; there are, however, no further reports of recent date on this subject.

I
302-852-779 Ritual Haircutting. In the chapter "Nature Worship," mention was made of the special power that is ascribed to the hair as the bearer of much "mana." It is therefore not surprising that the child's first haircut is accompanied by a certain amount of ceremony, such as is reported by Wilken (1) for the Minangkabau,

1. Dr. G. A. Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiens [Concerning the Hair Offering and Some Other Mourning Customs among the Peoples of Indonesia]" (Revue Coloniale Internationale, IV, pp. 351 f.), and Wilken, Verspreide Geschriften [Miscellaneous Writings], Vol. III, pp. 399-550.

MX
T
S
82
302
852 where only in special cases [461] is it accompanied by great festivity, among the Makassarese and Buginese and in central Celebes, where the first contact with the ground (see below) is the occasion for it, on Savu and Bali, where it is done at the namegiving, and for many other tribes in the archipelago.

2: Wilken--266 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OBI Indonesia OBI
 Minangkabau 0610
 Makassar 066●
 Toradja 0611
 Gorontalo 064

[223 cont.]

000

a. Haircutting (1)

1. For more detailed information see
 G.A.Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und
 einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den
 Völkern Indonesiëns," Revue Col. Inter-
 nationale, Vol. IV, pp. 391 f.

Mn
 I
 852
 302

A no less important ceremony, one that once even had
 religious significance, is the first haircut of the young child, which
 takes place with more or less ceremony among practically all
 peoples, the pagans as well as the Mohammedans. We point first
 to the Minangkabau Malays, who call this operation mēmangke-
 gombaq, the cutting of the gombaq, the locks of hair. These
 Malays have the custom of shearing the heads of their children
 completely bare, except for two tufts that remain, sometimes
 combed and sometimes plaited and decorated with quarters [coins]
 [224] or amulets. These locks are cut off during the mēmangke-
 gombaq, which is accompanied by festivities lasting several days,
 and afterwards the locks are wrapped in yellow cotton and taken
 to the father's house. A similar ceremony takes place in Lebong
 and in the Palembang Highlands.

MK
 ● 852
 302
 554

Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the hair of a
 child is cut ceremoniously when it reaches the age of one, two,
 or more years, and if the child is a prince, this is done with
 thrice seven shears. If the child is lower in rank, but of royal
 blood, then only twice seven shears are required, and for children
 of lesser rank the number of shears is proportionately reduced;
 for the lowest class one pair of shears is enough for the operation.

Tr
 G
 852
 302

This custom is likewise found among the pagan tribes of
 the central part of Celebes, as well as among the inhabitants of
 Bolaäng Mongondou. The latter preserve the hair in a coconut
 shell, as is also done by the Gorontaloese. They hang the shell
 in front of the house above the steps, where it remains until it
 falls down of its own accord.

2: Wilken--270 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Buru 048
Ceram 049
Watubela 0417
Aru 045

Javanese 0E5
Makassar 0G6
Gorontalo 0G4
New Guinea 0J1
Ambon 044

J [227 cont.]

304 a rule it is left to the better judgment of the person who performs the operation, who is governed by the circumstances.

J

304
852

The person who does the circumcising may be a priest, but is usually a layman and is called bong. Well-to-do people provide food at midnight before the ceremony, and the gamelang plays. The following morning at six o'clock the boy who is to undergo the operation, handsomely attired, smeared with boreh = yellow ointment, and covered with garlands of the small, white, and fragrant blooms of the Mimusops elengi, strung with thread is taken to a kind of tent, under which the bong performs the operation in one of the two ways. Generally, the boy is 12, 14, or 15 years old.

MX

304
852

Among the Makassarese and Buginese, too, the Arabic sonnat, pronounced sunnā, is the name for circumcision. It is circumcision here and is done at about twelve years of age by a priest who gives the Arabic formula: "Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and the family of our lord Mohammed. Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and his family and his associates."

G

304

It is unnecessary to discuss circumcision among the other Mohammedan peoples of the archipelago. Only the Gorontaloese should be given special mention. Among them this operation is called either sonnat, the Arabic term, [228] or moluna, a native word. Circumcision is practiced among the well-to-do, and incision by the lower classes.

NG

I

304

Circumcision is also found among various pagan tribes as well as among the Mohammedan peoples in the archipelago.

Let us begin with the Papuans of New Guinea. It is found exclusively among those of the east coast and probably exists there in the form of incision.

AW

B

CW

304

Of the Moluccas, we first call attention to Ambon and the Uliasar Islands (Saparua, Haruku, and Nusalaut), where, according to Valentijn, it was formerly generally practiced. Even today, it is found among the Alfoer of Buru, in some parts of western Ceram, and on the Watubela Islands, and everywhere it is incision. It is different, however, on the Aru Islands, where

A

304

2: Wilken--275, E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
 Minangkabau 0D10
 Javanese 0E5
 Makassar 0G6●
 Gorontalo 0G4

[232 cont.]

I
 304
 121 done to make the boy mature and completely normal from a sexual standpoint. With circumcision one left childhood and entered the ranks of the adolescents. Circumcision is thus the same as a declaration of nubility. We have seen that this is the case among the peoples of the archipelago.

Among some peoples, circumcision takes place at a very early age, for example, among the Israelites. Here it was thought that nature had to be helped promptly. The covering of the glans by the foreskin, as an abnormality, it had to be removed at once. Originally, then, the operation had no religious significance. It only gradually acquired this. Practices derived from antiquity quickly acquire this character. Uncivilized peoples are inclined to regard what originally were simple measures for the benefit of man as willed by the gods.

c. Circumcision of Girls (1)

1. Wilken, "De besnijdenis," etc.,
 op. cit., pp. 195 ff.

I
 304
 177 Besides boys, girls, too, are circumcised, but this custom is not so general. It consists of the removal of [233] the præputium clitoridis, sometimes of the clitoris itself, or of the labia minora. In the Malay Archipelago it is found exclusively among the Mohammedan peoples, from which it is obvious that this custom was adopted from the Arabs, among whom it originated.

G
 Mn
 MK
 J
 304
 852 Girls are generally circumcised at an earlier age than boys. This is the case, for example, among the Minangkabau Malays, and among the Javanese girls undergo this operation as early as the sixth year. Among the Makassarese it is done between the third and seventh year. The Gorontaloese, too, practice it. Among all the peoples named, however, it is done with much less ceremony than is the case for the boys. The
 I
 304
 852 circumcision of girls among the Mohammedan peoples, like

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Perhaps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here? 842 611

I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families. They said there simply was no control here. The more the better. I talked at length regarding the future decision concerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children, but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very interesting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories. [123]

We quit at 6 P.M. as the guru had to go to prayer. This is Friday (or maybe he goes everyday). 512

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must always be served to guests, and the Kepala kampung said that if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come into the front when I am present, a difference from the behavior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served by the Kepala kampung or his son or a retainer. The Kepala kampung, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the younger ones not so much. 123 574 562

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant. We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way we saw the kampung Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watampone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau. The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the marriage is completed. 576 595 852 574 000

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
● 852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were
going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very
pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from
the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It
was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around
it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's
brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule
seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
262 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
751 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
576 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably
271 politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no
potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The
food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-
wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is
a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is taste-
less.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be
here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison
which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was
that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other
instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were
largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds
and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up
new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher
and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set
and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But
there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman
teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs
if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i. e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned,
others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very
young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were
up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother
said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at
the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the
drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have
troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampung). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampung boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

517
181167
186178
681
796
805

[241]

574
852[562]
176
874
401
403

I boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture.
635 He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental
668 speeches and on wall posters.
666

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He
304 showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and
565 hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of dis-
881 trict Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bates
778 of Goa. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar
852 on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three chil-
535 dren being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (super-cision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her yulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs.

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heavenones. This explains a difficult point.

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace.

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former.

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.